

Message Text

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SUBJECT: TEXT OF REMARKS BY AMBASSADOR RICHARDSON AT SAO
PAULO AND RIO DE JANEIRO

1. IN PARAGRAPHS 2 AND 3 RESPECTIVELY BELOW ARE DRAFT TEXTS
OF REMARKS PREPARED BY ARA AND D/LOS FOR AMBASSADOR RICHARD-
SON ON JULY 19 AND JULY 24 BEFORE THE AMERICAN CHAMBER OF
COMMERCE, SAO PAULO, AND THE US-BRAZIL BUSINESS COUNCIL IN
RIO. WE WOULD APPRECIATE THE EMBASSY REVIEWING THESE TEXTS
AND MAKING APPROPRIATE SUGGESTIONS AS TO SUBSTANCE, TONE,
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EMPHASIS AS WELL AS APPROPRIATE ALLUSIONS TO THE LOCAL SCENE
IN BOTH SAO PAULO AND RIO. REQUEST FLESHING OUT AS APPROPRI-
ATE OF PARAGRAPHS DEALING WITH US-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS, ESPE-
CIALLY IN SAO PAULO SPEECH. IT WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL IF RE-
VISED, CLEAN TEXTS OF BOTH COULD BE AVAILABLE TO AMBASSADOR
RICHARDSON ON HIS ARRIVAL IN BRASILIA ON JULY 17.

2. SAO PAULO:
SOME ASPECTS OF US POLICY TOWARD THE DEVELOPING WORLD--

INTRODUCTION

I AM DELIGHTED TO BE IN SAO PAULO, THIS DYNAMIC CITY, THE LARGEST INDUSTRIAL CENTER IN SOUTH AMERICA AND ONE OF THE FASTEST GROWING CITIES IN THE WORLD. WHAT I HAVE ALREADY

SEEN OF YOUR VIBRANT CITY FULLY JUSTIFIES THE PRIDE PAULISTOS FEEL ABOUT THEIR COSMOPOLITAN WAY OF LIFE.

I HAVE COME TO BRAZIL FOR MANY REASONS NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF BRAZIL'S REPUTATION AS ONE OF THE MOST DYNAMIC COUNTRIES IN SOUTH AMERICA, BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF THE TRADITIONAL TIES OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL. AS LEADER OF THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE, I COULD NOT CONTEMPLATE A TRIP TO THIS GREAT CONTINENT WITHOUT AVAILING MYSELF OF THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS WITH OUR BRAZILIAN FRIENDS THE ISSUES WE ARE GRAPPLING WITH AT THIS IMPORTANT CONFERENCE. BOTH BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE A MAJOR STAKE IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. AS PRESIDENT CARTER SAID AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE EIGHTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE OAS, "BENEFITS OF THE WORLD'S ECONOMY MUST BE MORE FAIRLY SHARED BUT THE RESPONSIBILITIES MUST BE SHARED AS WELL." THE UNITED STATES HAS LONG RECOGNIZED THAT WE HAVE MAJOR UNCLASSIFIED

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INTERESTS IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD. THIS CAN BE DESCRIBED IN TERMS OF GLOBAL ISSUES AS WELL AS IN TERMS OF MORE TRADITIONAL NATIONAL CONCERNS. WE ARE KEENLY AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF REDUCING THE INEQUALITY OF WEALTH BETWEEN THE VERY POOR AND VERY RICH NATIONS AND WE ARE ALSO KEENLY AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF STRUCTURING ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD AND A RELATIVELY NEW PHENOMENON OF NEWLY INDUSTRIALIZING COUNTRIES OF WHICH BRAZIL IS THE LEADER IN SOUTH AMERICA.

THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO MAINTAIN ITS COMMITMENT OF ASSISTANCE TO THE POORER COUNTRIES, TO MAINTAIN PROGRAMS WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH, LIKE THE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS DEVELOPED IN PARTNERSHIP WITH BRAZIL DURING THE 1950'S AND 60'S, WILL HELP THEM ACHIEVE WHAT BRAZIL HAS ACHIEVED.

FOR THE NEWLY INDUSTRIALIZING COUNTRIES LIKE BRAZIL, DIRECT GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS ARE NO LONGER NEEDED TO PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR DEVELOPMENT. IN THESE COUNTRIES, THE TRANSFER OF RESOURCES IS MORE APPROPRIATELY ACCOMPLISHED IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR BY THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, AND IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR THROUGH THE DYNAMICS OF INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS.

IT IS THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF INTERNATIONAL BANKS (BOTH GENOUS BRAZILIAN CORPORATIONS THAT WILL PROVIDE THE MEDIUM

IN WHICH FURTHER DEVELOPMENT WILL TAKE PLACE. AS THE US GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN BRAZIL'S DEVELOPMENT DECLINED, THE ROLE OF OUR BANKS AND BUSINESSES INCREASED, AND THEIR DEEP

COMMITMENT TO THE SUCCESS OF THE BRAZILIAN ECONOMY IS MANIFEST IN THEIR LOANS AND INVESTMENTS.

WE BELIEVE THAT BUSINESS PARTICIPATION IS VITAL TO THE REALIZATION OF A REAL, MEANINGFUL TRANSFER OF RESOURCES,
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AND WE THINK GOVERNMENTS SHOULD DO ALL THAT THEY CAN TO HELP BUSINESS ACCOMPLISH SUCH TRANSFERS THROUGH FREE COMPETITION AND OPPORTUNITY.

I COULD NOT, OF COURSE, FAIL TO MENTION LAW OF THE SEA AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO BOTH BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES AS PART OF THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN DEVELOPING AND DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. IN PARTICULAR, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE IS A GREAT OPPORTUNITY FOR BOTH DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO ESTABLISH A REGIME THAT WILL ENSURE THAT THE BENEFITS FROM DEEP SEABED MINING ARE BENEFICIAL TO BOTH.

FOR THE UNITED STATES, WHICH MAINTAINS ITS RIGHT TO MINE THE DEEP SEABED UNDER CURRENT INTERNATIONAL LAW AS WELL AS FOR BRAZIL WHICH TAKES A CONTRARY VIEW, THE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE PROVIDES A FORUM IN WHICH TO RESOLVE OUR DIFFERENCES.

ON THE BROADER PLANE, THE CONFERENCE GIVES MANKIND A RARE CHANCE TO DEVELOP A REGIME FOR THE RATIONAL INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT OF A RESOURCE IMPORTANT TO ALL COUNTRIES. RESPONSE TO THIS UNIQUE CHALLENGE REQUIRES US TO AGREE ON A SYSTEM THAT CAN ENCOURAGE INVESTMENT AND RISK TAKING IN A NEW ENTERPRISE WHILE AT THE SAME TIME ACCOMMODATING THE JUST CLAIMS AND ASPIRATIONS OF ALL NATIONS. THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS RECOGNIZE THAT ATTAINMENT OF THIS GOAL CALLS FOR THE RATIONAL TRANSFER OF RESOURCES, INCLUDING TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER.

IF IT CAPITALIZES ON ITS POTENTIAL, THE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE CAN BRING INTO BEING A GLOBAL INSTITUTION THAT CAN SERVE AS A MODEL FOR INTERNATIONAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
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FOR YEARS TO COME.

IN DEVELOPING THIS INSTITUTION IT IS CLEAR THAT NO ONE ECONOMIC OR SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY CAN WHOLLY DETERMINE ITS

CHARACTER. OUR IMPERATIVE IS TO DRAW UPON THE EXPERIENCE OF VARIOUS SYSTEMS AND MELD THEM INTO A COHESIVE ENTITY WHICH ACTS FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL.

ESTABLISHING A MECHANISM FOR LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND NIC'S, ESPECIALLY A COUNTRY LIKE BRAZIL, TO SHARE IN THE REVENUES

GENERATED FROM DEEP SEABED MINING, TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNANCE OF AN INTERNATIONAL MINING INSTITUTION, AND TO MINE THE DEEP SEABED CAN STAND AS A MILESTONE IN THE EMERGING NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONSHIP.

REACHING THIS MILESTONE WILL BE NO EASY TASK. I CANNOT STRESS TOO STRONGLY THAT FOR THE COMMON HERITAGE OF MANKIND --THE RESOURCES OF THE DEEP SEABED--TO BECOME A REALITY AS OPPOSED TO A HOLLOW SHELL OR A MERE SLOGAN, A REGIME MUST BE ESTABLISHED THAT WILL ENCOURAGE THOSE WITH THE TECHNOLOGY, THE KNOW-HOW, AND THE FINANCING TO TAKE THE RISKS AND TO SHARE THE BENEFITS. IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO FOCUS ON THE BROADER CONSIDERATIONS I HAVE MENTIONED ALTHOUGH I DO NOT UNDERESTIMATE THEIR IMPORTANCE. AN ACCOMMODATION MUST EVOLVE REGARDING WHO MAY MINE AND UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS.

A GREATER SENSE OF REALISM HAS PERVADED THE CONFERENCE AND IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT TECHNOLOGY AND OTHER BENEFITS CANNOT BE TRANSFERRED MERELY BY WILL OF THE MAJORITY. THEY MUST BE INDUCED TO FLOW. THERE IS GROWING RECOGNITION THAT THIS WILL INDEED HAPPEN UNDER A REASONABLE AND EQUITABLE REGIME WHICH REASSURES THOSE ON ALL SIDES OF THE QUESTIONS.

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IT IS CLEAR THAT WHILE THE GENERAL DESIRES OF THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE BEEN VOICED IN VARIOUS FORA CANNOT BE DIVORCED FROM THE LOS CONFERENCE; IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT THEY CANNOT OVERWHELM THE CONFERENCE. WE MUST SEEK A BALANCE BETWEEN PHILOSOPHICAL AND PRAGMATIC CONCERNS AND SEEK SOLUTIONS WHICH WOULD YIELD A WORKABLE INTERNATIONAL SEABED REGIME FAIR TO ALL.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD WILL MAKE THIS COME TO PASS.

3. RIO DE JANEIRO:

BRAZIL AND THE US IN A CHANGING INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

I AM HAPPY TO BE HERE TODAY, AND PLEASED TO JOIN THAT IL-LUSTRIOUS GROUP OF AMERICAN OFFICIALS WHO HAVE RECENTLY

VISITED BRAZIL--PRESIDENT CARTER, MRS. CARTER, SECRETARY VANCE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY TODMAN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY BERGSTEN, AMBASSADORS SMITH AND WOLFF AND OTHERS.

WE COME HERE NOT JUST BECAUSE OF BRAZIL'S REPUTATION AS A TOURIST PARADISE, ALTHOUGH EVERYONE SEEMS TO MANAGE TO STOP OFF IN RIO. WE COME HERE BECAUSE OF THE TRADITIONAL TIES OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE US AND BRAZIL, AND BECAUSE OF BRAZIL'S IMPORTANCE IN THE WORLD TODAY.

THE US WAS THE FIRST TO WELCOME BRAZIL AS AN INDEPENDENT NATION IN 1824. WE FOUGHT TOGETHER IN ITALY IN WORLD WAR II. WE CONTINUE TO SHARE INTERESTS, PRINCIPLES, AND THE IDEALS AS NEW NATIONS WHICH HAVE DEVELOPED IN A NEW WORLD.

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BRAZIL, LIKE THE US, HAS GROWN INTO A NATION OF SUPERLATIVES. IN ADDITION TO HAVING SOME OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL SCENERY, SOME OF THE LARGEST CITIES(WITH SOME OF THE WORST TRAFFIC JAMS), AND SOME OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL WOMEN, BRAZIL OCCUPIES HALF OF THE SOUTH AMERICAN CONTINENT AS THE FIFTH LARGEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD AND IS THE SIXTH MOST POPULOUS, THE EIGHTH LARGEST ECONOMY IN THE FREE WORLD, AND THE SECOND LARGEST AGRICULTURAL EXPORTER.

AS OUR SITUATIONS CHANGE, NOT ONLY RELATIVE TO EACH OTHER, BUT TO THE REST OF THE WORLD, OUR RELATIONSHIP MUST CHANGE AS WELL. AT TIMES THIS RELATIONSHIP SHOWS THE STRAINS OF ITS EVOLUTION, BUT AFTER MORE THAN A CENTURY AND A HALF OF WORKING TOGETHER, WE CAN STILL CALL EACH OTHER FRIENDS, A BOND WHICH PRESIDENT CARTER SAID IN BRASILIA "IMPLIES THE RIGHT TO DISAGREE, EVEN VIGOROUSLY ON OCCASION, WITHOUT BITTERNESS OR MISTRUST."

I WANT NOW TO SAY SOMETHING MORE SPECIFIC ABOUT A NUMBER OF KEY ISSUES AFFECTING OUR RELATIONS. THE FIRST IS TRADE.

AGREEMENT EXISTS BETWEEN THE US AND BRAZIL ON THE NEED FOR MAINTAINING AND IMPROVING ACCESS TO MARKETS FOR THE PRODUCTS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. WE ALSO AGREE THAT A SUCCESSFUL AND BROAD-BASED RESULT FROM THE MTN IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE AS A FOUNDATION FOR WORLD ECONOMIC GROWTH IN GENERAL AS WELL AS FOR THE FUTURE TRADING POTENTIAL OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. WE BOTH BELIEVE THAT DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SHOULD BENEFIT FROM CERTAIN FORMS OF PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT IN TRADE TO ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC GROWTH, MODERNIZATION AND DIVERSIFICATION.

WHAT WE SHARE THEN IS A FUNDAMENTALLY SIMILAR GENERAL AP-
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PROACH TO THE MAJOR ISSUES. WITHIN THIS BROAD FRAMEWORK, HOWEVER, WE HAVE SOME IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES OF VIEW AS TO SPECIFIC ISSUES. THE KEY POINT OF DIFFERENCE IS THAT WE BELIEVE THAT AS A PARTICULAR DEVELOPING COUNTRY'S ECONOMY PROGRESSES--AND BRAZIL IS A DRAMATIC EXAMPLE OF SUCH PROGRESS--, IT SHOULD UNDERTAKE GREATER OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE INTERNATIONAL TRADING SYSTEM AND GRADUALLY GIVE UP PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT. BRAZIL ON THE OTHER HAND STRESSES ITS CONTINUING NEED FOR SPECIAL AND DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT.

MOREOVER, WE BELIEVE THE ADVANCED DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO OUR COMMON MTN GOAL OF A MORE OPEN INTERNATIONAL TRADING SYSTEM BY SUBSTANTIALLY LIBERALIZING THEIR TRADE REGIMES. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD SERVE BRAZIL'S OWN LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT INTERESTS TO SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCE ITS TARIFFS AND NON-TARIFF BARRIERS.

BRAZIL, OF COURSE, IS ALSO URGING US TO TAKE ACTION WITHIN THE MTN TO IMPROVE ACCESS FOR ITS PRODUCTS TO THE US. WE BELIEVE WE HAVE MADE SOME GENEROUS OFFERS TO BRAZIL AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN GENEVA. WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH BRAZIL AND WITH OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WITH THE AIM OF SATISFYING AS MANY AS POSSIBLE OF EACH OTHER'S ASPIRATIONS AND ACHIEVING A MEANINGFUL TOTAL PACKAGE.

RESOURCE TRANSFERS

INCREASED RESPONSIBILITY COMES WITH INCREASED DEVELOPMENT. RESOURCE TRANSFERS WILL HAVE TO CONTINUE TO GO TO THE POORER COUNTRIES. WE WOULD HOPE THAT AS COUNTRIES LIKE BRAZIL BECOME MORE DEVELOPED, THEY WOULD ALSO BECOME UNCLASSIFIED

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CONTRIBUTORS TO FUNDS FOR THE POORER LDC'S.

BRAZIL HAS ACTUALLY BECOME A DONOR ALREADY:

- MAKES CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE IOB CONVERTIBLE CURRENCY FUND;
- HAS AGREED TO JOIN THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FUND AND WILL CONTRIBUTE CONVERTIBLE CURRENCY.

INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY TRADE

INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN RAW MATERIALS HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT ISSUE IN THE NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE SINCE THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE SUBSEQUENT ADOPTION OF UNCTAD'S INTEGRATED PROGRAM FOR COMMODITIES. AS A MAJOR PRODUCER OF A NUMBER OF KEY COM-

MODITIES, BRAZIL AS WELL AS THE US HAS A KEEN INTEREST IN PRODUCER CONSUMER DISCUSSIONS AND WE ARE COOPERATING IN THE COFFEE AND COCOA AGREEMENTS. BRAZIL HAS BEEN AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN UNCTAD, AND SEVERAL COMMODITY AGREEMENTS.

BRAZIL AND THE US AGREE THAT EXCESSIVE PRICE INSTABILITY IN COMMODITY MARKETS CAN DAMAGE THE ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS ALIKE AND THAT, IN SOME CASES, INTERNATIONAL ACTION COULD HELP TO REDUCE INSTABILITY.

TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER

THE UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL AGREE THAT TECHNOLOGY IS VITAL TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. WE HAVE A MUTUAL INTEREST IN INCREASED NORTH/SOUTH FLOWS, AND BELIEVE THAT CONSENSUS ON WORKABLE INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS COULD CONTRIBUTE TO THIS OBJECTIVE. WE CONCUR THAT A NUMBER OF IMPERFECTIONS MAY DISTORT THE MARKET IN TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER.

BRAZIL HAS A STRONG INTEREST IN OBTAINING THE BEST AVAILABLE TECHNOLOGY, BUT WILL ACCEPT LOWER TECHNOLOGY IF IT WILL OTHERWISE HAVE TO ACCEPT FOREIGN CONTROLS ON THE TRANSFER.

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ABLE TECHNOLOGY, BUT WILL ACCEPT LOWER TECHNOLOGY IF IT WILL OTHERWISE HAVE TO ACCEPT FOREIGN CONTROLS ON THE TRANSFER.

TRANSNATIONAL ENTERPRISES AND INVESTMENT

THE UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL AGREE:

- THAT FOREIGN PRIVATE DIRECT INVESTMENT PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS;
- THAT INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS SHOULD BE DEVELOPED REGARDING THE ACTIVITIES OF TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS;
- THAT GOVERNMENT ACTIONS TO PROMOTE CLARITY AND PREDICTABILITY OF NATIONAL INVESTMENT POLICIES ARE DESIRABLE TO PROMOTE INVESTMENT;
- THAT NON-DISCRIMINATORY AND NATIONAL TREATMENT OF FOREIGN ENTERPRISES AND TIMELY AND UNRESTRICTED TRANSFER OF INCOME FROM INVESTMENT CAPITAL ARE DESIRABLE TO PROMOTE INVESTMENT;
- THAT NATIONS EXERCISE THEIR SOVEREIGN RIGHTS IN DETERMINING THE CONDITIONS OF ENTRY FOR NEW INVESTMENT.

THE UNITED STATES AND BRAZIL DISAGREE ON:

- WHETHER THE CODE SHOULD APPLY BOTH TO THE ACTIONS OF GOVERNMENTS AS WELL AS TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS;
- WHETHER THE CODE SHOULD BE BINDING OR VOLUNTARY;
- WHETHER THE CODE SHOULD HAVE A FOLLOW-UP MECHANISM, AND IF SO, WHAT KIND;
- WHETHER THE TRANSNATIONAL ENTERPRISES TO BE COVERED

BY THE CODE SHOULD INCLUDE STATE-OWNED ENTERPRISES
WHICH THE GOB WOULD WANT EXEMPTED, AND MIXED OWNERSHIP
ENTERPRISES;
-- DEFINITION OF STANDARDS FOR EXPROPRIATION AND
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COMPENSATION.

AS YOU CAN SEE FROM MY REMARKS, THE RANGE OF ISSUES AFFECTING US-BRAZIL ECONOMIC RELATIONS IS BROAD. THE AREAS OF DIFFERENCE ARE DISTINCT AND SOMETIMES SHARP. BUT WHAT IS MOST SIGNIFICANT AND WHAT BODES SO WELL FOR THE FUTURE IS OUR RECOGNITION THAT THE RELATIONSHIP IS TOO IMPORTANT AND TOO LONGSTANDING TO BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY DISAGREEMENT OVER SOME SPECIFIC ISSUES.

NEITHER BRAZIL NOR THE US HAS EVER STEPPED BACK FROM MEETING THE CHALLENGES OF THE PRESENT OR THE FUTURE. I BELIEVE THAT BOTH SOCIETIES ARE ALSO WILLING TO ACCEPT THE CHALLENGE OF DEALING WITH EACH OTHER IN A CHANGING INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT. THE RESULT WILL BE THE CONTINUED DYNAMISM OF BOTH SOCIETIES AND ECONOMIES AND A STRENGTHENED BOND OF COMMON INTERESTS AND CONCERNS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

THANK YOU FOR HAVING GIVEN ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW THE KEY ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONS AND FOR ALLOWING ME TO SHARE MY THOUGHTS WITH YOU. NOW, I AM ANXIOUS TO HEAR FROM YOU.

CHRISTOPHER

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